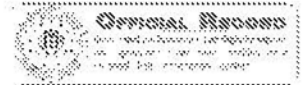


Exhibit 20  
Declaration of James A. Bowman

*United States v. Alshahhi, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/29/2019

Stephen K. BANNON was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at Patriots Plaza I, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Bannon was accompanied by his attorneys [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Present for the interview were Special Agents (SA) [REDACTED] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, Senior Assistant Special Counsels Jeannie Rhee and Andrew Goldstein, Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky. During the second half of the interview, Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmad and Staff Operations Specialist (SOS) [REDACTED] were present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, BANNON provided the following information:

Roger STONE had told BANNON, by phone and other methods, that he had a relationship with Julian ASSANGE. STONE had been bragging about his relationship with ASSANGE on Twitter, during interviews, etc. The conversation where STONE told BANNON he had a relationship with ASSANGE was about other things and STONE had brought up his relationship with ASSANGE. This was prior to BANNON joining the Trump Campaign. STONE was kind of a "braggart" and the conversation might have been around a time when STONE came on Breitbart Radio. STONE described the nature of his relationship with ASSANGE in a way that STONE knew him or had a personal relationship. It was implied that STONE knew ASSANGE and knew what ASSANGE was doing. [REDACTED]

On 10/4/2016 ASSANGE was supposed to have a press conference which didn't happen and was a non-event. [REDACTED]

BANNON's relationship with STONE prior to 8/13/2016 was one where STONE would brag to BANNON while he was at Breitbart. STONE was known as the "Trump whisperer". [REDACTED]

Investigation on 10/26/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] SM-2284941, [REDACTED] Date drafted 10/29/2018

by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SM-2284941

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[REDACTED]

As far as what WikiLeaks had, the implication from STONE was that it would be good for Donald TRUMP. The implication that it would be stuff damaging or embarrassing to the CLINTON camp. BANNON wondered how they could verify the authenticity. If it was somehow linked to the 33,000 missing emails, that would be the "money shot". BANNON thought the white whale was the 33,000 missing emails from CLINTON. BANNON spent the spring of 2016 trying to find them. BANNON thought the 33,000 missing emails were the Holy Grail, but even if they found them, there was no way to verify that they were real. STONE's contact with BANNON typically regarded [REDACTED] STONE bragging. STONE never talked about the 33,000 missing emails. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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The weekend after the 10/7/2016 WikiLeaks release somebody was trying to take credit for the timing of the release of the Podesta emails after the "Billy Bush thing". BANNON described the events surrounding 10/7/2016 as the sum and substance of the campaign. BANNON could not remember who it was, but someone on the campaign was relaying that someone who was not on the campaign was trying to take credit for the timing of the WikiLeaks releases and getting ASSANGE to release the information. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BANNON speculated it could have been [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The person trying to take credit for the timing of the WikiLeaks releases was likely STONE. STONE was the only person, to BANNON's knowledge, who was claiming to have a relationship with ASSANGE and WikiLeaks.

BANNON was shown an email dated 10/04/2016, Bates stamped SB\_00068079. When BANNON wrote "What as that this morning???" and "He didn't cut deal

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w/ Clintons???" he was referring to ASSANGE. [REDACTED]

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BANNON didn't have a professional relationship with [REDACTED] during the summer of 2016. BANNON could barely remember [REDACTED] during his time on the Trump Campaign during the fall of 2016. [REDACTED] was a volunteer and he could remember seeing her coming in and out of the "war room". BANNON described [REDACTED] as "another person walking around". [REDACTED] was working on [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was not a senior level person and she would help to put people in touch with BANNON. [REDACTED] BANNON couldn't remember any instances that occurred during the campaign time frame. During the campaign, BANNON knew [REDACTED] through BOSSIE and [REDACTED]. BANNON described [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BANNON couldn't remember ever talking with [REDACTED]. BANNON couldn't remember [REDACTED] BANNON couldn't remember ever talking with [REDACTED], but he wouldn't be surprised if he did.

On 10/7/2016 [REDACTED] might have been on the 14<sup>th</sup> floor at Trump Tower, but BANNON didn't specifically remember seeing her there. BANNON could remember a lot of women associated with the Trump Campaign being there, such as Kellyanne CONWAY and Hope HICKS, and [REDACTED] might have been one of those. BANNON had be preparing to shoot a film with candidate TRUMP that would be posted on Facebook. The plan was to have the movie posted by 7 p. m., but it ended up being done at 12:00 a.m. BANNON wouldn't be surprised if he got a text from [REDACTED] saying "well done", since he thought the film was well done.

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[REDACTED] STONE would pester BANNON. STONE talked about what he was trying to do in order to be put in touch with donors. BANNON was giving the impression that he would, but didn't remember ever doing it. STONE had contacted BANNON in order to be put in touch with the [REDACTED] BANNON thought he put STONE in touch with the [REDACTED] lawyers. STONE might have sent some spots to BANNON regarding the information he was putting out, or sent him some online videos, but BANNON doesn't recall looking at them.

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BANNON was shown a text dated 8/27/2016, from BANNON to STONE. BANNON didn't remember this text message. BANNON never heard of the [REDACTED] plan referenced in the text and BANNON didn't remember a [REDACTED] project. BANNON was aware of a plan [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] not involved in this plan, but BANNON was upset that STONE was taking credit for it. [REDACTED] came to BANNON 10-14 days after BANNON took over the Trump Campaign. There were ideas on how to do this, and to get Fox News and Sean HANNITY to do it, but Fox News and HANNITY waived off. The film was to be done on "Billy Bush day" with it going to the news shows that weekend. STONE tried to take credit for the effort which BANNON thought was lunacy and "B.S."

[REDACTED] Breitbart did not follow up on it.

BANNON was shown an email dated [REDACTED]

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BANNON was shown an email dated [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BANNON barely knew [REDACTED] at the time of this email. BANNON talked with [REDACTED] about meeting with the Special Counsel's Office (SCO).

BANNON was aware that [REDACTED] but wasn't aware of the content [REDACTED] The only thing [REDACTED] told BANNON [REDACTED]

BANNON described Jerome CORSI as a Harvard guy who works at World Net Daily. BANNON thought CORSI was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BANNON called CORSI and said [REDACTED] because now [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] SM-2284941

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[REDACTED] During the campaign, BANNON didn't remember talking to CORSI although CORSI may have reached out.

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BANNON was shown an email dated [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BANNON didn't recall any conversations about [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] At the time, BANNON was unaware of Ted MALLOCH's relationship to [REDACTED] Before the election win, BANNON didn't know MALLOCH or hear about him. BANNON thought that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] were all "wing-nut promoters". BANNON did have contact with MALLOCH once BANNON was in the White House. BANNON didn't know if MALLOCH had a relationship with [REDACTED]

In 2010, BANNON came up with BOSSIE to talk to TRUMP about possibly running for president. The meeting lasted approximately two hours on the 26<sup>th</sup> floor of Trump Tower. Michael COHEN was there. At the end of the meeting TRUMP asked BANNON what he thought about STONE. BANNON said he didn't know STONE very well but thought [REDACTED] [REDACTED] TRUMP asked if STONE was connected. BANNON replied that STONE is [REDACTED] While BANNON was at Breitbart in 2013-2015, BANNON had a strong relationship with [REDACTED] BANNON heard from [REDACTED] STONE was still talking to TRUMP and was an advisor. STONE subsequently made those statements to BANNON as well. BANNON was suspect and upset. BANNON believed you had to keep TRUMP "on program". While BANNON was on the Trump Campaign he never heard any mention of STONE from TRUMP or anyone else on the campaign. Corey LEWANDOWSKI had said that STONE was not part of the Trump Campaign. After the win, STONE tried a full court press in order to get a meeting with TRUMP. [REDACTED] eventually set up a meeting with TRUMP and STONE in early December 2016 on the 26<sup>th</sup> floor of Trump Tower. TRUMP didn't want to take the meeting with STONE. TRUMP told BANNON to be in the meeting and that after 5 minutes, if the meeting hadn't concluded, to throw STONE out. STONE came in with a book he wrote and possibly had a folder and notes. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] TRUMP didn't say much to STONE beyond "Thanks, thanks a lot". To BANNON, this reinforced STONE [REDACTED] After five to six minutes, the meeting was over and STONE was out. STONE was [REDACTED] due to the fact that during the meeting TRUMP just stared. This reinforced what BANNON thought about STONE, that STONE was a [REDACTED] BANNON never heard TRUMP talk about STONE. The 2010 conversation with TRUMP about STONE was the only time, to the best of BANNON's recollection. BANNON never heard that STONE was talking to candidate TRUMP while BANNON was on the campaign. BANNON never asked then candidate TRUMP if he talked with STONE. Candidate TRUMP could have talked to STONE, without BANNON knowing about it, and he had the opportunity to do so. BANNON was not aware of who TRUMP talked to in

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the evenings and they could have had a phone call. BANNON was not aware of who TRUMP was talking to in the evening, but he was definitely talking to people. BANNON did not have visibility into that. TRUMP was not shy about throwing names out of people he had talked to, and he never said STONE.

[redacted] that BANNON fired at Breitbart. [redacted] who was doing research on Barack OBAMA's time at Harvard. At ANDREW BREITBART's funeral, [redacted] was saying how he had a solution to OBAMA's birth certificate. BANNON was not interested in OBAMA's birth certificate and was interested in how the Harvard research was going. While [redacted] he was calling BANNON saying he heard from kids at a madrassa that OBAMA was a Muslim. At that point, in April 2012, BANNON fired [redacted] BANNON didn't want a story out saying that Breitbart was asking kids at a madrassa about OBAMA being a Muslim. Breitbart was not interested in OBAMA's birth certificate, only the research about OBAMA's time at Harvard from the files at NYU. BANNON's contact with [redacted] was only occasional texts and emails from [redacted] to BANNON in which BANNON did not respond.

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BANNON was shown an email dated [redacted]

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BANNON was shown an email dated [redacted]  
subject: [redacted]

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During the transition timeframe, [redacted] reached out and sent emails to BANNON offering help, for example saying he knew the Polish Prime Minister. BANNON didn't remember any outreach from [redacted]

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BANNON knew [redacted] and described him as a [redacted]  
BANNON was not aware of [redacted] but he wouldn't be surprised if he did. [redacted] was into stuff like that. [redacted]

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BANNON was shown an email dated [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] When BANNON wrote "Love it" in the email, he was saying he thought it was fantastic, epic, and that he wasn't going to get back to you. There would be no follow on. BANNON described it as a "quasi blow-off". [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] When BANNON wrote "Love it" he was not approving it, or else he would say he was approving it. It also did not indicate that he was going to do something. At that time, in June 2016, BANNON was going to go over to cover Brexit for Breitbart. BANNON had spent a lot of time and effort trying to find CLINTON's 33,000 missing emails. At the time, BANNON did not think that was dangerous as he was part of a media company. In 2017, [REDACTED] was totally blown out of proportion to the point where it was purported that [REDACTED] was TRUMP's [REDACTED] BANNON believed this story metastasized into something that was totally misconstrued and it made a tacit connection to the Trump Campaign. When BANNON wrote "Love it", he was not saying not to do it. In June 2016, there wasn't any reason why doing it would be wrong. In his role at a media company it was a good idea.

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[REDACTED] SM-2284941

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[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED] The "FLYNN thing" caught them by surprise and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It concerned BANNON since he had dealings with foreign governments. Back then talking with a foreign government was ok. The Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) was a part of the indictment. BANNON was concerned he would be investigated for dealing with foreign governments even though he did nothing wrong. The Special Counsel's Office had an "open writ" and was a fishing expedition. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

BANNON was shown an email dated 11/05/2016, from BANNON to Jared KUSHNER and BOSSIE, subject: Re: Securing the Victory. After BANNON came onto the Trump Campaign he didn't interact with Paul MANAFORT. BANNON didn't know who MANAFORT was talking to on the campaign after his departure. At one time BANNON heard that candidate TRUMP was still meeting with MANAFORT and taking his calls. BANNON thought he might have heard this from BOSSIE, [REDACTED] or Reince PRIEBUS. BANNON was unaware of the content of the calls, and assumed that they were campaign related. BANNON didn't hear candidate TRUMP talk about MANAFORT. On 8/13/2016 to 8/14/2016 BANNON didn't want MANAFORT fired, just kept on with no power or authority. After the New York Times article came out about MANAFORT, BANNON knew MANAFORT was done. BANNON told TRUMP and KUSHNER that no one should have contact with MANAFORT, [REDACTED] BANNON never talked with MANAFORT during the transition timeframe. BANNON "picked up in the ether" that the Russians were working with WikiLeaks. BANNON was 100% convinced they would win the election. BANNON had no knowledge of MANAFORT providing advice to KUSHNER. KUSHNER was the one who fired MANAFORT. After MANAFORT was fired, BANNON was unaware of any meetings between KUSHNER and MANAFORT. The last BANNON had spoken with MANAFORT was around 8/14/2016 to 8/15/2016.

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MANAFORT sent BANNON an email around the debates, and a congratulatory email after the win. There was no other conversation surrounding this email. When BANNON came onto the Trump Campaign, they were in a "free fall" and were down 20 points. BANNON had gone up to visit MANAFORT [REDACTED] [REDACTED] in Trump Tower. The New York Times story had come out that associated MANAFORT with Russia, since the story was about MANAFORT taking money from Ukraine/Russia and that MANAFORT was [REDACTED] BANNON thought MANAFORT was [REDACTED] and could see it in the operations. BANNON did not associate WikiLeaks with Russia but believed that it was a narrative that was derived from media stories. BANNON did not discuss the topics of this email with anyone else in the campaign, besides this email itself. There were no discussions on the Trump Campaign during this timeframe on whether WikiLeaks was working with the Russians. BANNON believed that this was "noise" and he was more worried about the fact that they were 6 to 7 points down. BANNON couldn't remember if there were any conversations from when he joined the Trump Campaign in August 2016 to Election Day on whether Russia and WikiLeaks were working together. BANNON couldn't remember, but he wouldn't be surprised if those conversations may have occurred. GIULIANI, FLYNN, or Chris CHRISTIE might have talked about it, and that it was in the "realm of possibility". BANNON had no recollection on preparing for answers to debate questions that the Russians had hacked a political opponent.

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BANNON didn't remember meeting with Erik PRINCE during early January 2017. BANNON did remember PRINCE coming in three to four times during the

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[REDACTED] SM-2284941

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transition timeframe. BANNON has no memory of discussing George NADER with PRINCE. BANNON met NADER months later. BANNON didn't remember PRINCE telling him that he would be travelling to the Seychelles prior to his trip. PRINCE did not tell BANNON that he would be meeting with a Russian individual in the Seychelles. PRINCE didn't tell BANNON about Kirill DMITRIEV prior to PRINCE meeting DMITRIEV in the Seychelles. PRINCE didn't talk with BANNON about an individual associated with the Russian Direct Investment Fund (RDIF) prior to PRINCE travelling to the Seychelles. PRINCE didn't tell BANNON about a Vladimir PUTIN associated individual that he would be meeting with prior to PRINCE's trip to the Seychelles. PRINCE didn't show the CV of a Russian individual to BANNON prior to his trip to the Seychelles. It is possible that BANNON talked with PRINCE about sanctions on Russia, but he wasn't sure about it. BANNON didn't remember any contact with PRINCE on 1/11/2017. PRINCE didn't tell BANNON that he was in the Seychelles and that he was meeting with a Russian individual. BANNON did not talk to PRINCE about the Russian aircraft carrier Kuznetsov docking at a port in Libya while PRINCE was in the Seychelles. BANNON did talk with PRINCE about Libya. PRINCE had advocated for working with the "good guys" in Libya, in November/December 2016, after they won the election. PRINCE never talked about working with the Russians, just the UAE. BANNON didn't recall meeting with PRINCE on 1/16/2017. PRINCE never told BANNON he met with a Russian government official. PRINCE never told BANNON he met with an individual from the RDIF. PRINCE never told BANNON he met with a representative of PUTIN. PRINCE never gave a business card of an individual associated with Russia to BANNON. BANNON didn't say anything to PRINCE about following up with the Russians. BANNON didn't say anything to PRINCE about setting up another line of communication with Russia that he remembers.

BANNON was shown a text dated 9/8/2016, Bates stamped SB\_00068078. This conversation with PRINCE was not regarding PUTIN. The text from PRINCE was in regards to debate prep. BANNON heard PRINCE say the phrase in this text a bunch of times. BANNON used the phrase as well. BANNON believed this was a concept on the campaign.

BANNON reiterated again that PRINCE never gave BANNON a business card from a Russian who wanted to meet with the President and he didn't remember that happening. BANNON again said PRINCE never told him he met with a Russian associated with the RDIF and didn't remember that happening. PRINCE did say he met with Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed al-Nahyan (MBZ) of the UAE, but not in the Seychelles. PRINCE had said he met with MBZ to discuss PRINCE's Afghanistan concept, and talked with him about his ideas on the Arab League and Libya. PRINCE told BANNON he met with MBZ after the meeting happened, not before. BANNON passed these things onto FLYNN. PRINCE was a business guy and BANNON didn't know that PRINCE had a relationship with MBZ. BANNON met MBZ in December of 2016. PRINCE travelling to the Seychelles wouldn't have stood out to BANNON. If PRINCE had told BANNON he had a meeting with Russians and given BANNON a business card from the Russians, BANNON would have remembered it. PUTIN had called TRUMP the first morning after TRUMP took office and therefore you wouldn't

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need a back-channel or "other guys running around". In January 2017 there were stories in the press that Russia was trying to help TRUMP win. BANNON believed that TRUMP had to see the documents that OBAMA had seen which convinced him to throw the 29 Russian diplomats out of the country. On 1/4/2017 BANNON was consumed with the upcoming intelligence briefing they had on 1/6/2017. PRINCE meeting with Russians would have stood out to BANNON. Receiving a business card from a Russian, through PRINCE, would have stood out to BANNON. BANNON believed that guys shouldn't run around freelancing in a meeting such as that. PUTIN and TRUMP had called each other one to two times, so why would they need a back-channel. BANNON would have had an issue with PRINCE meeting with a Russian.

BANNON did read PRINCE's testimony to the U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI). BANNON discussed it with PRINCE because he thought it was wrong for PRINCE to not hire a lawyer or prepare for his testimony. PRINCE believed that it was a political witch hunt, he would tell them what happened, and he didn't need a lawyer. PRINCE considered his testimony before HPSCI a "chat". BANNON never asked PRINCE if his testimony was truthful.

BANNON is in touch with PRINCE frequently. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BANNON and PRINCE never discussed the DMITRIEV meeting in the Seychelles.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

In regards to the texts with PRINCE on BANNON's blackberry, BANNON didn't know what was kept or not kept. In regards to archiving his messages, BANNON didn't do anything different in regards to his texts with PRINCE and just gave his phone to his secretary. BANNON did use his personal email for White House business. BANNON did not make any attempts to preserve the White House record information from his personal accounts.

BANNON met Bob FORESMAN through Mark BURNETT. BANNON thought FORESMAN might have been [REDACTED] BURNETT said he had a guy who was trying to save Christians in the Middle East and Russia. FORESMAN knew people in Russia, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. BANNON rolled him over to FLYNN. There was zero talk about giving FORESMAN a position in the administration during the meeting with BANNON. To BANNON, FORESMAN didn't seem [REDACTED]

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BANNON's "phone guy" is located in Los Angeles. BANNON has known him for 15 years, but didn't remember his name. BANNON met him during his time in L.A. One of BANNON's secretaries is in L.A. BANNON's "phone guy" is the one who sets up his devices.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

When the Special Counsel was setup there was talk about conflicts of interest right away. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BANNON thought all of the stated conflicts were ridiculous, [REDACTED] TRUMP did not respond when BANNON pushed back on the stated conflicts of interest. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the issue about [REDACTED] having [REDACTED] as an attorney was not a conflict in the legal community. [REDACTED] they had invited MUELLER in to give TRUMP a perspective on what the FBI was and thought they might beseech him to take the job as FBI Director. MUELLER did not come in looking for the job as FBI Director. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The purpose of the meeting was to give TRUMP a perspective on the institution of the FBI [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BANNON told TRUMP why he thought all these conflicts were ridiculous.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] BANNON

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

explained it as it was not go get rid of MUELLER, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BANNON told TRUMP he

didn't think that these were conflicts. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BANNON told TRUMP that

[REDACTED] that's ridiculous and petty. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] MCGAHN and PRIEBUS pushed back

on the conflicts of interest TRUMP raised. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[REDACTED] SM-2284941

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

BANNON never talked to TRUMP or KUSHNER about injecting money into the campaign. Jeff DEWIT, PARSCALE, KUSHNER, and BANNON were going through the cash flow. They realized that they were going to need \$15 million dollars. They would need to generate more money or the candidate would have to write a check. KUSHNER said, as far as the candidate writing a check, that was not going to happen. KUSHNER said he was not a guy who while six to eight points down, was going to write \$25 million dollar checks. They were not even in the hunt. Coming out of the last debate, they were in fantasy land, they were so far behind. TRUMP is a probability guy, and if it's not a dead lock, don't expect \$25 million. Since KUSHNER said there was no way this was going to happen they worked to get it down to \$10 million. Steve MNUCHIN came up with a cash flow plan. MNUCHIN called it a cash advance. They had enough money coming from small donors that it would lag to it and this money would eventually come in. Just this last \$10 million was needed to come in to buy the television time. MNUCHIN would structure it like a loan and he had a term sheet, but it was like a cash advance. They had a five hour conversation with TRUMP. MNUCHIN, BANNON, KUSHNER, and TRUMP were present. MNUCHIN turned over the term sheet, which was structured as a loan, and he had the wire instruction documents for the \$10 million. TRUMP didn't know that MNUCHIN had the documents ready. It was ten days to two weeks ahead of Election Day and they couldn't do the final television spot without it. BANNON didn't think TRUMP even read the documents. TRUMP wasn't thrilled that MNUCHIN had the wire instructions ready. BANNON didn't think that TRUMP talked to [REDACTED], MCGAHN, or DEWIT from the Trump Organization. The conversation about the \$10 million with TRUMP started on the 26<sup>th</sup> floor of Trump Tower, with MNUCHIN, BANNON, KUSHNER and TRUMP. They were flying to a campaign stop so they continued the conversation on the plane. They kept working on TRUMP until he couldn't take it anymore, and then MNUCHIN pulled out the sheets with the wire instructions. TRUMP was convinced the cash would be there. TRUMP understood the logic of it. [REDACTED]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

As far as the messages on his phone being deleted prior to 2/23/2017, BANNON was told all of his stuff was deleted. BANNON never deleted the



[REDACTED] SM-2284941

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon . On 10/26/2018 . Page 16 of 16

PRINCE messages himself. BANNON never discussed with anyone about deleting his messages with PRINCE. BANNON didn't know why they were deleted and didn't tell anyone else to delete the PRINCE messages. BANNON was told everything was deleted before a certain date. BANNON never deleted his messages with PRINCE or instructed, asked, or told anyone to delete his messages. BANNON never set up a function to not to retain his messages. BANNON didn't discuss with his tech guys on why these messages were missing. The only other person who had access to BANNON's Blackberry was [REDACTED] and that was only once or twice. BANNON had "no earthly idea" on why the messages were deleted.

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BANNON did not have a lot of contacts with [REDACTED] during the election. BANNON didn't remember what his interactions with [REDACTED] during the campaign consisted of. From approximately March to May of 2016 [REDACTED] had come up with a concept to show that [REDACTED] BANNON was just making sure that [REDACTED] didn't blow him up. BANNON thought that [REDACTED] was another guy who was better [REDACTED]

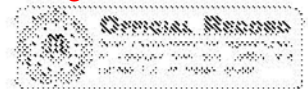
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[REDACTED] BANNON didn't remember what they were discussing. It wasn't a big enough deal for BANNON to remember, he got texts from a lot of people. BANNON thought [REDACTED] BANNON thought that if you don't keep guys like STONE [REDACTED] happy they eventually would settle scores in their books. When investigator detailed the amount of calls and messages BANNON had during the campaign, BANNON didn't know what the messages with [REDACTED] were about, but BANNON said they were likely talking about the election or ideas [REDACTED] had. BANNON didn't know anything about WeSearchr or anything about using crowd sourced funds for bounty information. BANNON didn't know anything about getting [REDACTED] getting hacked or leaked information. BANNON didn't remember anything about passing deep web or hacked information. BANNON didn't remember anything about [REDACTED] getting any information from WikiLeaks. [REDACTED] was always talking about his relationship with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] talked about the dark web/deep web, but BANNON didn't remember the specifics. BANNON was not interested in dark web information. [REDACTED] was telling BANNON about his theories about [REDACTED] or an idea of what district he should be in. [REDACTED] would say that he knows stuff from the dark web. [REDACTED] would come up with stuff like helping on social media and helping to find stuff on the dark web. [REDACTED] might have mentioned the 33,000 missing CLINTON emails while BANNON was looking for them. [REDACTED] might have talked to BANNON about his efforts to get in contact with WikiLeaks. BANNON didn't remember the information that [REDACTED] was trying to get from WikiLeaks or the access. The only time [REDACTED] spoke to BANNON about his meetings with WikiLeaks were the two emails. On the campaign, [REDACTED] might have mentioned the dark web. [REDACTED] would have outside the box ideas like getting the DNA for [REDACTED] [REDACTED] would text with BANNON about these things. The dark web was always something [REDACTED] would talk about. It was likely [REDACTED] had told BANNON he had a contact with WikiLeaks in only these two emails. [REDACTED] possibly texted BANNON about WikiLeaks.

Exhibit 21  
Declaration of James A. Bowman

*United States v. Alshahhi, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/01/2018

Erik Dean Prince, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington, D.C. Present representing Prince were [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

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The interviewing team were FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and Assistant Special Counsels Jeannie Rhee, Zainab Ahmad and Aaron Zelinsky.

Prior to the start of the interview, ASC Zelinsky verbally reviewed the terms of a letter setting forth the agreement upon which Prince made himself available for the interview (Document 1). Prince stated that he understood the terms of the letter agreement. Prince and [REDACTED] signed the letter. After being advised of the identities of the interview team and the nature of the interview, Prince provided the following information:

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Prince was not initially a Donald Trump supporter. As the campaign heated up, Prince found that he agreed with many of Trump's positions. Prince spoke with [REDACTED] about holding a fundraiser for Trump. [REDACTED] told Prince that the Campaign had rejected Prince's request to hold a fundraiser because Prince was too controversial. Prince did not speak with anyone else in the Campaign about the fundraiser.

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Prince contributed money directly to the Trump Campaign. Prince also donated at a Las Vegas event, to a Political Action Committee (PAC) run by the [REDACTED] and to Roger Stone's ads and social media efforts regarding [REDACTED]

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Prince met Steve Bannon in 2013 at an event held at Breitbart for Prince's book. Bannon and Prince hold similar beliefs on many issues. Bannon knew Prince's experience and respected Prince's knowledge of certain matters. Bannon had Prince as a regular call-in guest on Bannon's radio show. During the campaign, Prince sent Bannon mostly unsolicited policy papers.

Prince was introduced to Donald Trump, Jr. at Trump Tower. [REDACTED] may have introduced Prince to Trump, Jr. The first meeting was brief, Prince expressed his support and encouragement

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Investigation on 04/04/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/05/2018

by [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 2 of 12

for the Trump Campaign. Prince met Trump, Jr. approximately two more times at Trump Tower before the election. At one of the meetings, Trump, Jr. asked if Prince had met Trump. Prince said no. Trump, Jr. walked Prince into a room and introduced Prince to Trump. Trump and about ten other people were in the room and Mike Pence was on the telephone.

Prince organized a meeting between [REDACTED] and Trump, Jr. to discuss Iranian civil rights issues. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] introduced Prince to [REDACTED] Prince met [REDACTED] in the Brussels Airport a year or two before their meeting with Trump, Jr. At the airport, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Prince is not aware of any attempts by [REDACTED] to get money from foreign governments. [REDACTED]

During their airport meeting, [REDACTED] provided Prince with some documents pitching his project. Prince does not recall the details of [REDACTED] project. [REDACTED]

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Sometime before the election in 2016, [REDACTED] requested that Prince set up a meeting with a high level person connected to Trump. [REDACTED] did not request anyone in particular. Prince knew Trump, Jr. and Bannon. Prince knew Bannon better and Bannon was a policy guy. Prince does not recall why he arranged the meeting with Trump, Jr. instead of Bannon. Bannon may have been unavailable because, at this time, he was very busy and often traveling with Trump. [REDACTED] did not say that he wanted to pitch Trump, Jr. for money, only that [REDACTED] wanted to discuss Iranian issues, such as the Obama administration's nuclear deal with Iran and payment of cash to Iran.

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[REDACTED] arrived for the meeting with George Nader. Prince had not expected Nader to be with [REDACTED] Prince had worked with Nader in Iraq around 2006. In 2006, Nader was a courtesan for the Vice-President of

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 3 of 12

Iraq. Prince, [REDACTED] and Nader met with Trump, Jr. in Trump Jr.'s office. Prince introduced [REDACTED] to Trump, Jr. as an Iran policy person. Prince introduced Nader as a person with knowledge of the Middle East. Prince also told Trump, Jr. that Prince had known Nader in Iraq ten years earlier. [REDACTED] took the lead on explaining why the nuclear agreement with Iran was wrong. [REDACTED] gave a brief synopsis of his communications project but only as a way to bolster his position for a change in Iran policy. Trump, Jr. said that it was interesting information and that he would take it onboard. Trump, Jr. had no time or interest for a granular discussion. During the meeting, [REDACTED] never said anything about using his company to help the Trump Campaign. [REDACTED] did not discuss anything with Prince about the Trump Campaign's social media activities.

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Prince does not recall anyone else attending the meeting. Prince does not recall Stephen Miller attending the meeting. Prince believes that Nader was helping [REDACTED] meet potential investors. Prince does not recall Nader speaking at the meeting with Trump, Jr. Prince does not know if Nader had a separate agenda for attending the meeting. Prince does not recall whether he was with [REDACTED] and Nader throughout the entire time that they were upstairs at Trump Tower.

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Prince does not know [REDACTED] other business interests. Prince has heard of the PSY Group as an Israeli technology and communications company. [REDACTED] had mentioned the PSY Group to Prince, but Prince does not recall the context. Prince does not know if [REDACTED] was associated with the PSY Group.

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In July or August 2016, Prince had breakfast with Bannon. Bannon understood the union mentality of Trump's supporters. Bannon had been in contact with them through his radio show. Prince and Bannon discussed policy at the breakfast. Two days later, the Trump Campaign hired Bannon.

Prince sold Blackwater in 2010. Prince's main policy desire was to have a president that would be open to private contractors conducting stability operations. Prince helped the UAE successfully combat Somali pirates. Prince has focused on "peripheral" areas where the Department of Defense does not have a significant presence, such as Yemen, Somalia and Libya. Prince has also focused on Afghanistan. Prince sent Bannon a policy paper "Update on Problem Areas." Prince also sent Bannon his "Case for a Private Option." Prince got the impression that Bannon had more important policy matters on his plate.

Prince met Bannon a couple of times at Trump Tower before the election. Prince set up the meetings by texting Bannon or communicating with [REDACTED]. Prince and Bannon discussed foreign policy and

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 , On 04/04/2018 , Page 4 of 12

trade. Prince does not recall the subject of Russia coming up during any of their discussions.

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[REDACTED] introduced Prince to Roger Stone. [REDACTED] told Prince that Stone was working on a 501(c)(4) Fund. [REDACTED] did not say that Bannon or the Campaign approved of Stone's fund. [REDACTED]

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Stone mentioned WikiLeaks a few times. Prince began one conversation by asking what Stone thought would be released next. Prince does not recall anything that Stone said about WikiLeaks. Stone did not give Prince any inside information on the WikiLeaks release of Democratic National Committee e-mails nor any information on Stone's contacts with Julian Assange. Prince was not aware of Stone's public statements about WikiLeaks or Stone's contacts with Assange.

Barbara Ledeen had a trove of e-mails from the dark web that were purportedly deleted e-mails from Hillary Clinton's server. Ledeen wanted to authenticate the e-mails. Prince provided funding so that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] could hire a tech advisor to determine whether the e-mails were

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 5 of 12

real. [REDACTED] reported to Prince that the tech advisor had determined the e-mails were not authentic. [REDACTED] returned the unused portion of Prince's money. Prince does not believe that anyone from the Campaign knew of the effort.

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Prince spent election night at Trump Tower watching the voting returns. [REDACTED] cleared Prince into the event. When it appeared that Trump would win, Prince and other people walked over to the Hilton to hear Trump's speech.

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Prince met Bannon in Trump Tower a few days after the election. Prince advocated for people to fill key National Security positions. Prince wanted people that would support his private approach and support disentangling America from foreign conflicts. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Prince returned a few weeks later and met again with Bannon. Prince again discussed personnel decisions. Trump did not select any of the individuals that Prince recommended. Prince never sought a position for himself. On one occasion, Prince rode the train back from New York to Washington, D.C. with KellyAnne Conway. They did not have any substantive conversations during the train ride.

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Prince met Flynn in June 2016, before the Republican convention, for breakfast in Alexandria. [REDACTED] introduced the two men. Prince and Flynn discussed foreign policy. Flynn had not yet become active in Trump's campaign. Prince does not recall any other substantive interactions with Flynn until after the election. Post-election, Flynn and Prince had a quick meeting at Trump Tower regarding which people should fill National Security positions. Another time, Prince and Flynn met at an Irish Pub and talked about how to put out fires in peripheral areas. Prince never talked about the role of Russia with Flynn.

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Prince met Trump three times. The first time was the introduction by Trump, Jr. in Trump Tower. The second time, Prince met Trump during a campaign event in Las Vegas before the last debate. The third time, Prince met Trump at a [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Prince never spoke for more than a minute to Trump. The substance was always Prince expressing his support and encouragement.

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Prince has Trump's phone numbers in his cell phone. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 6 of 12

[REDACTED] briefly introduced Prince to Jared Kushner while they were in Trump Tower. Prince and Kushner did not have any substantive conversations.

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Prince discussed National Security appointments with Dave Bossie. Prince and Bossie also discussed Robert Levinson, a former FBI Agent, that disappeared in Iran.

Prince briefly met K.T. McFarland. Prince said hello to McFarland while she was in an office talking with Judge Jeanine Pirro.

The earliest text messages in Prince's cell phone are from March 2017. Prince used his cell phone prior to March 2017. Prince does not know why the text messages do not go back farther than March 2017. Other than housekeeping, such as deleting spam messages, Prince has not deleted any text messages from his cell phone. [REDACTED]

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Prince did not know in advance about the December 15, 2016 meeting in New York between Trump representatives and UAE officials. During the meeting or shortly after it, Prince met Nader in the coffee shop of the Four Seasons Hotel where the meeting was taking place. Nader said that Kushner, Flynn and Bannon were at the meeting with Mohammed Bin Zayed (MBZ) and other UAE officials. Nader said that they discussed Middle East issues including Iran, Syria, Iraq, the Muslim Brotherhood and terrorism generally. Prince does not know who set up the meeting.

Prince reviewed a series of text messages that he and Nader exchanged on December 15, 2016 (Document 2). In the first message, Nader asked Prince when they could meet at the Pierre Hotel where Nader was staying. Prince responded that he had been asked to come straight to Trump Tower upon arriving in New York. [REDACTED] had probably told Prince that Bannon had a window to see him. Prince ended up meeting Nader in the lobby of the Four Seasons Hotel. Prince agreed to give Nader a policy paper on the Muslim Brotherhood to pass on to MBZ. Prince probably went somewhere to print the paper, then returned and left it at the front desk for Nader. After their meeting in the lobby, Nader messaged Prince that Nader "told Steven that we just met and he was delighted." Nader always stated things in the superlative. Prince had told Nader that Prince had met with Bannon. In another message on December 15, Nader writes that he cannot wait to "[f]ollow upon our excited mission." Prince assumes that the mission is getting the UAE and Saudi Arabia (KSA) to financially support Prince's solution to end the fighting in Yemen. Prince's solution

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 7 of 12

involved a smaller, more-focused, and perhaps private, armed force. Prince was confident that the UAE or KSA would go forward with this solution if Prince could get permission from the U.S. Government. Prince met with Bannon on December 16, 2016. Bannon said that Prince was right about MBZ being a great guy. Prince had told Bannon about a 2010 conference on freedom and Islam that Prince hosted in the UAE and that MBZ had attended.

After Trump won the election, Nader wanted access to as many people as possible. One time, Nader and Prince were waiting outside of Bannon's office. Prince does not believe they came to Trump Tower together. Prince does not recall any meetings that he attended with both Bannon and Nader. Trump, Jr. walked by and Nader attempted to talk with him. Trump, Jr. told Nader not to contact him anymore because he no longer handled policy matters. Trump, Jr. separately told Prince that he wanted Nader to stop texting him all the time. Nader received inauguration tickets from somebody at the stratum of Kushner. After inauguration, in May or June 2017, Prince ran into Nader in the White House. Nader did not say who he was meeting in the White House.

Prince reviewed messages between himself and Nader (Document 3). On December 20, 2016, Nader messaged Prince about Nader visiting the "neighboring country." Prince interpreted the "neighboring country" as Saudi Arabia and that Nader would be meeting with Mohammed bin Salman (MBS). Prince interpreted Nader's reference to going "big real hunting," as Prince's solution to end fighting in Yemen. Prince had discussed his ideas for ending fighting in Yemen with Nader but provided no detailed operations plan. Prince and Nader did not discuss the Trump administration and UAE working together. Prince does not know why Nader sent Prince an image of Nader and Putin together, other than the fact that Nader always likes to show off his connections.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Prior to this interview, Prince reviewed records showing that he travelled to New York on January 3, 2017. Prince does not recall the travel. The trip was probably to see Bannon. Prince does not recall checking whether Bannon or Trump, Jr. would be available before he travelled to New York. Prince reviewed messages exchanged between him and Nader from December 31, 2016 to January 4, 2017 (Document 4). Based on the messages, Prince believes that he planned to meet Nader in New York on January 3. Nader was pushing for a meeting with anyone from the Trump team. Prince does not know why Nader wanted to meet with someone from the Trump team. Prince does not recall setting up any meetings for Nader with the Trump team.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 8 of 12

Prince reviewed a message that he sent at approximately 1:36 p.m., on January 3, wherein he wrote that he would be at the Pierre Hotel restaurant in 10 minutes to meet Nader (Document 4). Prince does not recall meeting Nader. Prince and Nader probably planned to meet so that Nader could download the information from Nader's meetings with MBZ and MBS. Prince reviewed a set of messages arranging a later meeting at the Pierre Hotel restaurant, the messages ended with Prince writing "[a]m in the restaurant" at 7:32 p.m (Document 4). Prince does not recall the second meeting with Nader either. It was probably a continuation of the same issues as the first meeting.

Agents showed Prince images of the Pierre Hotel and its restaurant. After viewing the images, Prince recalled meeting Nader in the restaurant (Document 5). Prince does not recall what they discussed. They may have discussed Prince's upcoming meeting with MBZ. Prince does not recall them discussing Russia, Dmitriev or contacts with the Trump administration.

Prince does not recall going to Trump Tower on January 3. Prince may have been trying to meet Bannon. Prince had spoken with former U.S. intelligence people about his plan and may have wanted to update Bannon. Prince often sat in the Starbucks in the Trump Tower lobby hoping that Bannon would have an opening to see him.

Prince does not know why Nader sent Prince information on Kirill Dmitriev - a link to a Wikipedia page, "Quotes KD\_DT.pdf," and "Kirill DMITRIEV.pdf" - on January 3 and January 4 (Document 4). Nader may have sent the information because it came up during their dinner. Prince would be surprised if Nader sent the information without any discussion. The first time that Prince heard of Dmitriev was at Prince's meeting with MBZ in the Seychelles. At the end of that meeting, MBZ or one of his brothers said that there was a Russian guy that the UAE had done business with and that Prince should meet him.

Prince does not recall opening the attachments sent by Nader on January 4, which contained the information on Dmitriev (Document 4). Prince does not recall calling [REDACTED] shortly after the attachments were opened. Prince would have called [REDACTED] to see if Bannon had time to meet with Prince. Prince probably did not meet Bannon on January 3 because Prince would not have come back on January 4 if he had met with Bannon the day before. There were other times when Prince went to Trump Tower trying to meet with Bannon and never got in to see him. Prince does not recall whether he met with Bannon on January 4. Prince does not recall telling Bannon or anyone else with the Trump Transition team about Dmitriev before the meeting in the Seychelles.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 9 of 12

Prince was like a kid at Christmas about his meeting with MBZ, he could only focus on the presents under the tree. Prince had previously conducted significant business with the UAE and he hoped to gain business for the future. Prince does not recall when he first learned that his meeting with MBZ would be in the Seychelles rather than the Middle East. Prince does not recall communicating to Bannon or anyone else that Prince would be meeting with MBZ. [REDACTED]

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When Prince landed in the Seychelles, one of MBZ's men walked Prince through customs and drove him to the Four Seasons Hotel. MBZ owns the resort so Prince did not have to pay for his room. Prince met separately with Nader before meeting with MBZ. Nader warned Prince about the atmospherics of MBZ's court and the rent-seeking behavior of its members. Prince and Nader took a golf cart to MBZ's villa. Prince talked with MBZ about problems in peripheral countries where the UAE had troops, like Somalia, Libya and Yemen. MBZ was exasperated by the Obama administration. In Prince's mind, Prince was not there on behalf of the upcoming Trump administration. Prince did not play up his relationship with Bannon or anyone else close to Trump. MBZ asked though whether Prince thought that the Trump administration would support the ideas that they were discussing. In response, Prince cited Trump's campaign promises and what Prince had heard from Trump's Strategic Policy Advisor, Bannon, on the issues. Prince spent about an hour and a half with MBZ. MBZ offered Prince a ride back to Abu Dhabi on MBZ's airplane. At the end of the meeting, one of MBZ's people said that there was a Russian guy at the resort, that the UAE had put money into his funds, and that he would be a useful guy for Prince to meet.

After the MBZ meeting, Prince went back to his room and napped. Prince then went to dinner, he believes Nader ate dinner with him. After dinner, Prince and Nader walked over to the bar and met Dmitriev. Dmitriev's wife was with him but soon walked away. Dmitriev spent the first six or seven minutes discussing his hope that their countries could work better together. Prince responded that if Roosevelt could work with Stalin to defeat the Nazis then Trump and Putin could work together to fight terrorism. Dmitriev also talked about the two countries resuming normal trade relations, but Prince does not recall Dmitriev specifically mentioning sanctions. Dmitriev knew Prince had been a loud advocate for Trump but Prince does not recall Dmitriev speaking as if Prince was a contact to the Trump people. Dmitriev did not say when he had been asked to meet with Prince or who asked him to meet with Prince. Prince understood that Dmitriev was in the Seychelles to meet MBZ. Prince and Dmitriev spent most of their time discussing oil prices. Prince owns a



[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 , Page 10 of 12

geoscience business that searches for oil. Prince explained to Dmitriev how the Saudis failed to put the U.S. fracking companies out of business by increasing production to keep prices low because the companies continued to operate under U.S. bankruptcy laws. Dmitriev insinuated to Prince that he wanted Prince to pass along the message of better relations to people in the U.S. Dmitriev emphasized wanting to get past the past. Prince does not recall any discussion of potential Russian interference in the 2016 Presidential election. Prince had a beer during their conversation.

Prince went back to his room after the meeting with Dmitriev. Prince got a message from a Libyan friend that the Russian aircraft carrier Kuznetsov had been toured by Khalifa Haftar of Libya. Prince contacted Nader and asked to meet with Dmitriev again. Prince initially told investigators that the second meeting also occurred in the bar. After Agents showed Prince images of Villa [REDACTED] at the Four Seasons Seychelles (Document 6), Prince stated that his second meeting with Dmitriev was in Nader's villa. Prince pointed out to Dmitriev that Dmitriev had talked about wanting to work together but that Prince personally thought that the Kuznetsov incident would be offensive to the Trump administration. Dmitriev answered that he did not know about the incident and that the Russian armed forces sometimes got ahead of themselves.

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Prince told Nader that he would let Bannon know that Prince had talked with Dmitriev. Prince would pass along to Bannon that someone in the Russian power structure was interested in better relations.

Prior to meeting Dmitriev, Prince read Dmitriev's biography that Nader had previously sent him. Prince cannot recall how he knew to look in his cell phone for Dmitriev's information. Prince posits that Nader must have told him that Dmitriev is the person about which I previously sent you information. Even given the fact that Nader had sent the information earlier, Prince is not sure whether the meeting between him and Dmitriev was pre-arranged. Having read the biography and knowing that Dmitriev managed Russia's sovereign wealth fund, Prince knew before the meeting that Dmitriev had strong political connections in Russia.

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[REDACTED]

On the plane back to Abu Dhabi, Prince spoke alone with MBZ for about an hour. They mostly talked about planes and Prince's idea for using a modified crop duster as a counterinsurgency plane. MBZ is a



[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 11 of 12

gearhead. Prince does not recall discussing Dmitriev with MBZ. Prince landed in Abu Dhabi and went to China the next day. Prince spent three or four days in China before flying back to the U.S. on January 15.

The next day, on January 16, Prince met with Bannon at the Breitbart house. [REDACTED] Prince also told Bannon about his meetings with MBZ and Dmitriev. Prince said that MBZ was interested in his solution to the fighting in Yemen and other areas. Prince described Dmitriev as a Western educated, sovereign wealth fund manager. Prince told Bannon that Dmitriev wanted an improved and more cooperative relationship with the U.S. On the morning of January 16, before visiting Bannon, Prince captured a screenshot of Dmitriev's Wikipedia page on his cell phone (Document 8). Prince believes that he captured the image so that he could remember Dmitriev's name when he met with Bannon. Prince cannot recall whether he showed Bannon the screenshot. Likewise, Prince cannot recall whether he told Bannon that the meeting was in the Seychelles.

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Prince reviewed a January 17, 2017, message from Nader asking if Prince had time to meet with [REDACTED] (Document 9). Prince replied yes. Prince does not know who [REDACTED] is. Nader then messaged "[w]hat about Kirill?" (Document 9). Prince does not think he responded to this message. Prince does not recall communicating with Nader about Dmitriev after they left the Seychelles. Prince does not recall sending a message to Nader stating Prince had been contacted by the Senate Intel Committee "all thanks to the Russian guy you wanted me to meet." Nader would not take any action unless it was approved by MBZ. Prince does not know why he would have wrote "you" wanted me to meet when it was one of MBZ's other people that suggested the meeting unless it was because Nader walked Prince into the meetings with MBZ and Dmitriev. Prior to the Washington Post article in April 2017, only Bannon, Nader, Dmitriev and the UAE officials knew that Prince had met with Dmitriev. Prince may have told Flynn but he does not believe that he told Flynn.

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On the day of his testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI), Prince believed that he was only going to speak with Devin Nunes about illegal unmasking of Americans and the wrongful use of SIGINT. Prince agreed to the release of his HPSCI testimony because, after speaking with [REDACTED] Prince did not believe that he had a choice.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Erik Prince 04.04.2018 . On 04/04/2018 . Page 12 of 12

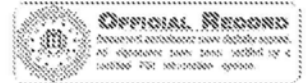
[REDACTED] MBZ would have arranged the meeting for strategic reasons such as chipping away at the relationship between Russia and Iran.

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Exhibit 22  
Declaration of James A. Bowman

*United States v. Alshahhi, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/13/2018

JARED COREY KUSHNER, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office (SCO) on April 11, 2018. Also present during the interview were KUSHNER's attorneys [REDACTED] from Norton Rose Fulbright US LLP, Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Goldstein, FBI Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] and FBI SA [REDACTED]. The interview began at approximately 9:15 a.m. and concluded at approximately 5:45 p.m. Water was provided to KUSHNER and his three attorneys. Multiple 5-10 minute breaks were taken. One 30 minute lunch break was taken. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents, KUSHNER voluntarily provided the following information:

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 04/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/20/2018

by [REDACTED]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 2 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

CNI/DIMITRI SIMES

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] RICHARD PLEPLER, [REDACTED] invited KUSHNER to a TIME WARNER lunch with HENRY KISSINGER and DMITRI SIMES. [REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] KUSHNER remembered this being a time when the campaign was having a hard time getting people to support them. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] KUSHNER admitted to "pursuing" SIMES. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1054

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner

, On 04/11/2018 , Page 3 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1055



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 4 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] At the [Redacted]

reception KUSHNER met KISLYAK [Redacted] He shook  
their hands, chatted for 1-2 minutes and moved on. KUSHNER recalled  
KISLYAK saying "we like what your candidate is saying. . . it's  
refreshing." [Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1056

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner

, On 04/11/2018 , Page 5 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1057

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner , On 04/11/2018 , Page 6 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1058

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 7 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1059



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner , On 04/11/2018 , Page 8 of 33

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER did not recall if the June 9, 2016 Trump Tower meeting  
(TRUMP TOWER MEETING) ever came up during a family meeting.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1060

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Kushner

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 04/11/2018, Page 9 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1061

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 10 of 33

[Redacted] " KUSHNER did not discuss the TRUMP TOWER MEETING with TRUM b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] KUSHNER [Redacted]

[Redacted] leaving early [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1062

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner

, On 04/11/2018 , Page 11 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

SIMES and KUSHNER stayed in touch after the CNI Foreign Policy speech.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1063



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 12 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

SIMEb5 Per DOJ/OIP

sent KUSHNER SIMES' "memo on what Mr. Trump may want to say about Russia."

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] KUSHNER did meet with SIMES in New York at KUSHNER'S office. KUSHNER had met with SIMES before in his office. [redacted]

KUSHNER never got from SIMES information that could be "operationalized."

KUSHNER believeb5 Per DOJ/OIP

at that time there was little chance of something new being revealed about the CLINTONS since they had been public figures for decades.

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1064

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner

, On 04/11/2018 , Page 13 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1065

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 14 of 33

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7A  
b7C

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7A  
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1066

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner

, On 04/11/2018 , Page 15 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

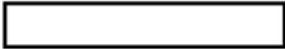
[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1067

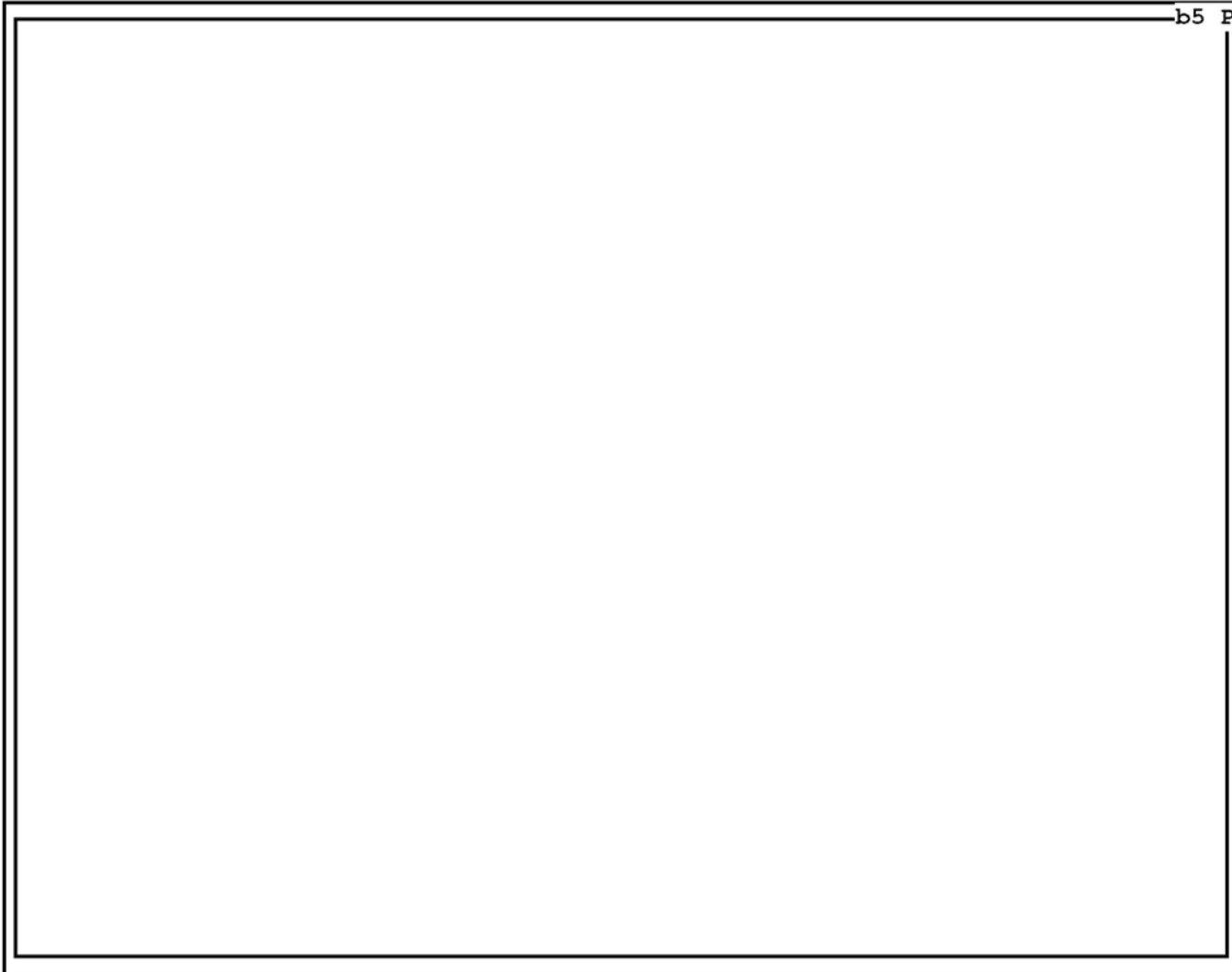


UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~



(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 16 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

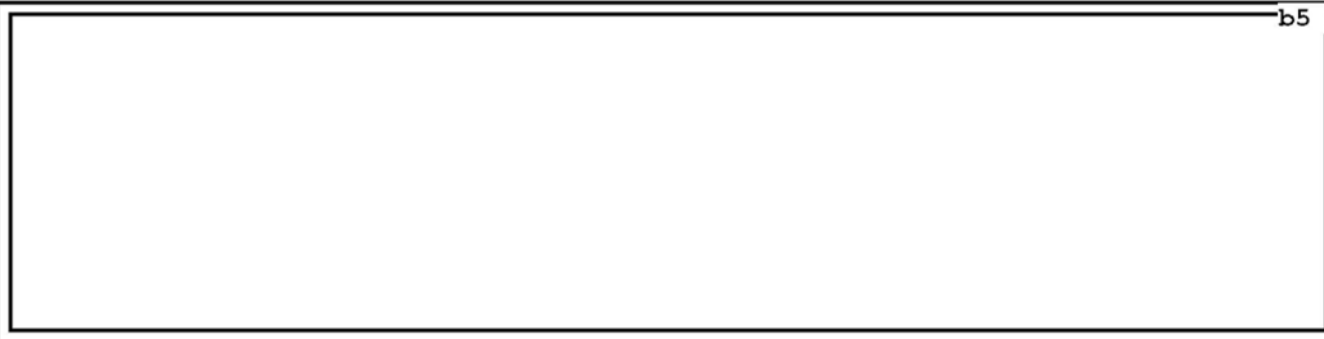


b6  
b7A  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



b5 Per DOJ/OIP



b6  
b7A  
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1068

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 17 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7CMeetings with Kislyak and Gorkov

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1069

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]  
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 18 of 33

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

In KUSHNER'S meeting with Ambassador KISLYAK, they discussed Syria and having the Russian generals brief FLYNN. FLYNN said there was not a secure line of communication so KUSHNER asked whether they could communicate using the Russian Embassy. Ambassador KISLYAK quickly said "no that won't work."

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] KUSHNER told KISLYAK that he wanted to make sure he was speaking with people "who can make decisions."

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1070



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]  
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 19 of 33

[REDACTED] VARGAS told KUSHNER KISLYAK was being b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
very insistent. KUSHNER asked [REDACTED] to see if KISLYAK would meet  
with AVI BERKOWITZ and ultimately KISLYAK agreed. KISLYAK told  
BERKOWITZ that KUSHNER should meet with someone else who was a  
better channel through which to communicate to PUTIN. [REDACTED]

KUSHNER took the meeting with SERGEY GORKOV [REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER did no prep for the meeting. No one on the transition team  
googled GORKOV. [REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b5 Per DOJ b7A  
b7C

The meeting with GORKOV started with GORKOV presenting KUSHNER with  
two very thoughtful gifts; a bag of dirt/soil from the town in  
Belarus where KUSHNER'S family is from and a painting. [REDACTED] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1071

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[redacted]  
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 20 of 33

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] KUSHNER did not recall anything  
about GORKOV's bank (VEB) being sanctioned, or any discussions of  
US sanctions.

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1072

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner

, On 04/11/2018 , Page 21 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7Cb5 Per DOJ b6 P  
b7CMeeting with MBZ and  the UAE

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C during the transition, GERSON was being used  
by MBZ  to reach out   

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1073

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 22 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b5 Per DOD

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b6 Per DOJ/OIP  
b7A  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1074



FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner

, On 04/11/2018 , Page 23 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1075

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 24 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Former FBI Director James Comey:

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER [redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] had no recollection of whether TRUMP asked  
COMEY to stay behind. [redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1076

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 25 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

May 5,

dinner.

b6  
b7C

KUSHNER said the first draft of  letter reflected the reasons TRUMP wanted to fire COMEY and was the truest representation of what TRUMP said in that dinner.

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1077

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 26 of 33

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1078



(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Kushner

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 27 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner , On 04/11/2018 , Page 28 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1080

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Kushner

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 04/11/2018, Page 29 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1081

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner , On 04/11/2018 , Page 30 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Statements Regarding June 9, 2016 Meeting:

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1082



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 31 of 33

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER did not recall speaking to TRUMP at all about the meeting

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1083

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey  
Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 32 of 33

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

two printouts containing ideas on how to improve US-Russia relations. [redacted] the document was two or three pages

[redacted]  
[redacted] KUSHNER scanned the documents quickly and gave one each to BANNON and TILLERSON. Neither BANNON nor TILLERSON followed up with KUSHNER. [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1084

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 33 of 33

[Redacted]

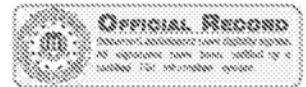
b5 Per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1085

Exhibit 23  
Declaration of James A. Bowman

*United States v. Alshahhi, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/11/2018

GEORGE NADER, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED] was interviewed at 395 E. Street SW, Washington, D.C. NADER was represented by attorneys [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] from Holland and Hart LLP. Also present at the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsels Zainab Ahmad, Brandon Van Grack, and Jeannie Rhee.

b6  
b7C

At approximately 9:15 AM, NADER's attorneys and SCO attorneys discussed the attached proffer letter. [REDACTED] made notations to the proffer letter. Ahmad indicated that these notations did not indicate the SCO agreed to these notations.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] raised concerns about the search warrant that was executed on January 17, 2018 and when NADER would get his phones back. Ahmad explained the difficulty in imaging NADER's iPhone 6 and iPhone 7.

b6  
b7C

Ahmad explained to NADER that he was a subject, but not a target of the SCO and that his phones might have evidence of crimes committed by other people.

At approximately 9:34 AM, Ahmad made notations to the attached proffer letter. Ahmad explained the proffer letter to NADER and emphasized the importance of truthfulness. Ahmad told NADER that false statements to FBI agents would be violations of Title 18, U.S.C. Section 1001.

After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, NADER provided the following information:

NADER's Background

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] NADER introduced Vice President DICK CHENEY to AHMED CHALABI.

NADER continued an informal relationship with CHENEY through [REDACTED]

b6  
b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 01/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 01/23/2018

by [REDACTED]

b3  
b6  
b7C  
b7E



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~b3  
b7E

[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] /2018, On 01/19/2018, Page 2 of 15

NADER first met ERIK PRINCE in Iraq. PRINCE was running the security company Blackwater, and was a well-paid consultant for the U.S. occupation of Iraq. NADER advised PRINCE on the customs and business practices in Iraq. NADER was in the process of obtaining a business license for Blackwater to operate in Iraq when the Nisour Square shooting occurred.

NADER is currently a business consultant in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (UAE). NADER has an unofficial advisory relationship with the leaders of UAE and Saudi Arabia, but is not an employee of the government of UAE or Saudi Arabia. This relationship is similar to how he worked for CHENEY. NADER specialized in bringing companies together for real estate deals or licenses.

During the 2016 Presidential Campaign, NADER advised the leaders of UAE and Saudi Arabia to be on good terms with both the HILLARY CLINTON and DONALD TRUMP campaigns. NADER found it easy to develop contacts inside the Clinton Campaign because he knew President BILL CLINTON. However, TRUMP was an enigma, and no one knew exactly what he stood for. Regardless of who won, they would need to be on good relations with the incoming administration.

NADER's greatest strength as an advisor is because he is a U.S. citizen who has respect and contacts with both sides in a difficult environment. (Note: [REDACTED] provided the attached Congressional Records at this time). For example, NADER has had contacts with both Israeli Prime Minister BENJAMIN NETANYAHU and Ayatollah RUHOLLAH KHOMEINI.

b6  
b7C

#### Meeting DONALD TRUMP JR.

NADER had attempted to develop connections to the senior level of the Trump Campaign through WALID PHARES. PHARES had tried to introduce NADER to JARED KUSHNER, but the meeting did not happen.

PRINCE brokered a meeting between TRUMP JR., [REDACTED] PRINCE, and NADER.

b6  
b7C

Although PRINCE moved to Abu Dhabi, NADER had not talked to him in a long time. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] advised NADER that PRINCE was well connected to the Trump Campaign and TRUMP family. [REDACTED] is a traditional Republican, and like

b6  
b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-2743

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] /2018, On 01/19/2018, Page 3 of 15

most traditional Republicans refused to join the Trump Campaign. However,

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] focus is on pro-Israel policies and the threat posed by Iran.

[REDACTED] is close to Israeli Ambassador RONALD DERMER.

[REDACTED] knew that PRINCE was working with [REDACTED] on a project. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Because NADER was [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

NADER first met [REDACTED] at the Park Hyatt Hotel at 24<sup>th</sup> and M Street, Washington, DC. [REDACTED] told NADER that he had an independent way to connect with the Trump Campaign through [REDACTED] and an individual in New York. [REDACTED] also mentioned that PRINCE was well connected to the Trump campaign and Trump family and that PRINCE would be the fastest and best avenue to reach the TRUMP Campaign.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] and PRINCE jointly set up a meeting with TRUMP JR. The meeting occurred at Trump Tower and lasted for 35 to 40 minutes. NADER initially recalled that this meeting happened in July 2016, but upon reviewing his text messages, he concluded it took place on August 1, 2016. PRINCE did most of the talking explaining to TRUMP JR what he was doing to help the campaign and about a fundraiser he was planning on holding at his house. NADER asked to be invited to the fundraiser.

b6  
b7C

PRINCE introduced NADER to TRUMP JR and explained that NADER was an expert in the gulf region. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

TRUMP JR stated that the U.S.'s best allies in the region were Egypt, Israel, UAE and Saudi Arabia. TRUMP JR specifically emphasized Egypt. PRINCE told TRUMP JR that relations with UAE, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Israel would all be better after TRUMP won the election that during the time of President BARRACK OBAMA.

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b7CUNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
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[REDACTED]

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After the meeting with TRUMP JR, NADER, PRINCE and [REDACTED] met for coffee. [REDACTED]

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PRINCE said NADER's connections with Middle East leadership could help with fundraising. PRINCE said that NADER should ask Gulf leaders for funds because a Trump Campaign victory would be good for them. NADER said that he would help with countering Iran, but not with asking about providing funds to support the campaign.

NADER's second and third meetings with TRUMP JR:

Approximately two to three weeks after their initial meeting, NADER met with TRUMP JR again. This meeting occurred in TRUMP JR's offices at Trump Tower and lasted for approximately 15 minutes. NADER had been staying at the Taj Pierre Hotel in New York when TRUMP JR told him to come to Trump Tower. Because NADER had heard about TRUMP JR traveling for the campaign, he wanted to invite him to meet MBZ and the then Deputy Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia MOHAMMAD BIN SALMAN (MBS) in Morocco. MBZ and MBS stay for several weeks at a compound in Morocco every summer. TRUMP JR said he would check with his team prior to going.

Approximately two to three days later, TRUMP JR and NADER met again.

[REDACTED]

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While this meeting was occurring, KUSHNER walked into TRUMP JR's office to ask about another meeting. TRUMP JR introduced KUSHNER to NADER and they shook hands.

All of these meetings occurred in TRUMP JR's personal office, not in the campaign offices at Trump Tower. At one of these meetings, TRUMP JR asked NADER about [REDACTED] specifically what he did, and why he had been at the initial meeting.

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
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NADER's fourth meeting with TRUMP JR:

In mid-September 2016, NADER was in New York for the U.N. General Assembly (UNGA). NADER informed TRUMP JR that he was in town. TRUMP JR asked NADER to stop by Trump Tower.

NADER told TRUMP JR that he was going to be heading to Washington, DC to meet with DERMER. TRUMP JR said he was trying to arrange a meeting between NETANYAHU and Candidate TRUMP. TRUMP JR told NADER words to the effect, [REDACTED] I know you're close with DERMER and can you make it happen? I know NETANYAHU is meeting with CLINTON. We need this meeting for our credibility."

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TRUMP JR started calling NADER hourly to check on the status of this meeting.

NADER checked with DERMER and was told that this meeting could not happen. NETANYAHU had met with Candidate MITT ROMNEY in 2012 and the meeting had caused problems. DERMER said he was traveling to Israel and coming back to the U.S. with NETANYAHU.

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This was the last substantive contact NADER had with TRUMP JR until after the 2016 election.

[REDACTED] and PRINCE follow up questions

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b7C

PRINCE was pushing for NADER to help PRINCE reconnect with MBZ.

Exhibit 21 (WhatsApp chats between [REDACTED] and NADER):

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Page 1 (June 8, 2016):

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
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NADER identified the reference to "St. P" as St. Petersburg, Russia.

NADER was in St. Petersburg for a business conference that is like the Davos conference, but in Russia. NADER attends this conference every year.

While in St. Petersburg, NADER met [REDACTED] for a half hour at the bar.

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[REDACTED]

NADER did not hear about any Trump Campaign staff travelling to Russia.

NADER initially stated he did not meet any Russian government officials during this trip.

NADER then said that Russian President VLADIMIR PUTIN was at a luncheon NADER attended during this trip. NADER met and shook hands with PUTIN. The Russian ministers of oil and industry were also present at this luncheon.

NADER met with KIRILL DMITRIEV, the head of Russian Direct Investment Fund (RDIF). NADER and DMITRIEV discussed regional politics. NADER and DMITRIEV did not discuss the Trump Campaign.

Pages 2 and 3 (June 15, 2016):

[REDACTED]

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b7C

The photo of NADER and PUTIN was taken while at the St. Petersburg conference.

NADER identified the "big friend" as NETANYAHU. NADER said there was no particular reason he wanted [REDACTED] to share with photo with NETANYAHU other than to show that NADER was well connected.

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Page 4 (June 15, 2016):

[REDACTED]

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b7C

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19

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b6  
b7CPage 5 (June 28, 2016): mention of "chief of staff" is a reference to DERMER's Chief of Staff.b6  
b7CPage 6 (July 2, 2016):b6  
b7Cb6  
b7CPage 9 (July 16, 2016):b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C

NADER did not discuss the Trump Campaign with  on this trip. NADER thinks he had already met with  PRINCE and TRUMP JR, but he might be remembering the days wrong.

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[REDACTED]  
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 01/19/2018, Page 8 of 15

Page 10 (July 16, 2016):

"Our friend" refers to [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

"Proper introduction and management" refers to meeting the Trump Campaign team.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

NADER personally preferred CLINTON as a candidate. NADER had good contacts within the Clinton Campaign. NADER was actually invited and present at the Clinton Campaign party on election night in 2016. NADER had been invited to the party [REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED]

NADER's friends in the Middle East wanted TRUMP to win as they thought CLINTON would continue the policies of OBAMA. They thought that CLINTON's advisor HUMA ABEDIN was associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. They also associated CLINTON with the ouster of former Egyptian President HOSNI MUBARAK which occurred when CLINTON was Secretary of State.

UAE's Ambassador to the U.S. YOUSEF OTAIBA was also a supporter of CLINTON.

Pages 13 and 14 (July 19, 2016):

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b7A  
b7C

b6  
b7C

Page 16 (July 22, 2016):

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] /2018, On 01/19/2018, Page 9 of 15

"Zero exposure" refers to NADER's concerns about connecting to the Trump Campaign through PRINCE. Previously, [REDACTED] had only mentioned [REDACTED] as being the connection to the campaign.

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b7C

NADER intended for this meeting to open a dialogue between the Trump Campaign and the leadership of Middle East countries.

Page 18 (July 22, 2016):

[REDACTED] mention of "something important to bring to the table" refers to the connection to the Middle East through NADER.

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b7C

Discussions were occurring with American Jewish leaders such as [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] to support the Trump Campaign.

Page 21 (July 23, 2016):

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7CPage 23 (July 23, 2016)

"RD" refers to DERMER.

Pages 19 and 20 (July 22, 2016):

"The Girl" refers to possibly meeting IVANKA TRUMP.

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7CPages 25 to 27 (July 30, 2016):

NADER reviewed this exchange and indicated that he was referring to PRINCE. [REDACTED] had previously told NADER that PRINCE was going to be at the meeting with TRUMP JR.

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b7C

[REDACTED]

Pages 30 - 32 (July 30, 2016):UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 01/19/2018, Page 10 of 15

NADER is informing [REDACTED] that MBZ and MBS are encouraging him to contact the Trump Campaign.

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b7C

"ERIC" is a reference to ERIC TRUMP. NADER has only met ERIC TRUMP at the inauguration. NADER asked to meet ERIC TRUMP several times.

[REDACTED] came up when NADER told [REDACTED] the Trump Campaign needed greater support from the Jewish community. NADER had been discussing with [REDACTED] how to garner additional support for the Trump Campaign within the American Jewish community. NADER never met [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Page 35 (August 4, 2016):

"HH" refers to MBS.

"HRH" refers to MBZ.

NADER told MBS and MBZ that the meeting with TRUMP JR was positive. TRUMP JR said that they would be allies with UAE and Saudi Arabia and not stab them in the back.

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Page 39 (August 7, 2016):

These messages refer to NADER asking [REDACTED] if TRUMP JR will be coming to Morocco to see MBS and MBZ.

b6  
b7C

Pages 41 to 43 (August 7, 2016):

NADER had spoken with TRUMP JR about the potential meeting in Morocco and is relating their conversations with [REDACTED] TRUMP JR did not like to speak on the phone.

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[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19

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Page 44 (August 7, 2016):

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b7C

Page 51 (August 13, 2016):

b6  
b7C

Page 62 (August 25, 2016):

b6  
b7CSeychelles Meeting

Erik PRINCE met with Kirill DMITRIEV in the Seychelles. NADER was present at the meetings, but stated that NADER helping to arrange the meeting was "too strong" of a wording. NADER stated that it was never meant for the Russians to be included in the Seychelles meeting. NADER subsequently further described the Seychelles meeting.

On December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the day before the meeting between the UAE representatives and Jared KUSHNER, Steve BANNON and Michael FLYNN in New York, PRINCE came by and said he wanted to meet again with MBZ and therefore asked NADER to help set it up. NADER wanted to hear from and receive the approval from Donald TRUMP JR, KUSHNER, BANNON or one of the transition team principles to make sure PRINCE had their approval before he setup the meeting with MBZ. If they granted their approval, NADER would facilitate a meeting between PRINCE and MBZ. A meeting subsequently occurred where FLYNN, BANNON, TRUMP JR, PRINCE and NADER were present. During the meeting TUMP JR told NADER that from now on, he would no longer be a point of contact for these type of issues and NADER would therefore work with "these guys" in reference to FLYNN and BANNON. PRINCE was asking to setup a meeting with MBZ to discuss security/military issues and asked

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[REDACTED]  
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
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if it was ok "with you guys". FLYNN and BANNON told NADER that PRINCE was a great guy, work with him and anything he sets up we will support.

PRINCE wanted to meet with MBZ because he believed he never finished the job in Iraq and believed the incoming administration would support his efforts. PRINCE believed that any agreement made between him and MBZ would get the approval of the incoming administration. PRINCE believed he could get the incoming administration to back the agreement and said to leave the American side for him to handle. NADER asked MBZ when to setup the meeting, and MBZ said to do it in January 2017. [REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED] and MBZ didn't want to go out of his way to facilitate the meeting.

PRINCE went to the Seychelles and met with MBZ. During the meeting it was apparent that PRINCE needed to be on the same level as the Russians, who were currently coordinating with MBZ and Egypt. PRINCE wanted to meet, coordinate, and cooperate with the Russians after he got to the Seychelles. The purpose would be to de-conflict with the Russians in advance. NADER didn't recall and didn't believe telling DMITRIEV that PRINCE was going to be in the Seychelles prior to their meeting. The discussion between MBZ and PRINCE went well, so NADER set up PRINCE with DMITRIEV. PRINCE wasn't saying he was coming on behalf of the Americans, [REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED] NADER reiterated that the PRINCE and DMITRIEV in the Seychelles meeting was not planned ahead of time, and that MBZ suggested it after his meeting with PRINCE.

Exhibit 25, page 15

When shown the text message of NADER sending to PRINCE links and articles of DMITRIEV's biography and information on January 3, 2017 NADER said that in regards to PRINCE talking with someone of the issue of Russia, and who he could meet, NADER thought DMITRIEV would be the person. NADER knew they would both be there, and it is possible that he told PRINCE that DMITRIEV would be there, but NADER did not pre-plan the meeting between PRINCE and DMITRIEV as such. NADER then stated that the meeting could have been pre-arranged. NADER was aware of the Washington Post article on the Seychelles meeting, did discuss it with DMITRIEV, and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NADER stated that he mentioned DMITRIEV to PRINCE after meeting with MBZ and NADER contributed to setting up the PRINCE and DMITRIEV meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to talk business. Whatever needed to be done as a result of the meeting, PRINCE would coordinate with the "people back home" and it was PRINCE's responsibility on the American side to work it out accordingly. DMITRIEV would look on his side to find out what party to reach out too. NADER didn't

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19

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t believe that PRINCE mentioned he was part of the incoming administration, and that PRINCE was interested in talking with DMITRIEV about going after their common enemies.

DMITRIEV was determined to be the most reliable and had an interest in meeting a representative of the Trump Campaign. DMITRIEV was attending a conference in New York City and NADER said to wait until after the new administration was in the White House, and he never mentioned it to the Americans.

Exhibit 22, page 40

When shown the text message dated January 3, 2017, NADER was not sure who it was referred to him meeting with. NADER did not meet with TRUMP JR, BANNON or anyone in the Trump Campaign in January 2017. NADER stated that he would have to refresh his memory and review the documents. NADER doesn't remember sending DMITRIEV's bio to anyone besides PRINCE.

Exhibit 22, page 43

When shown the text referring to a person designated by "Steve" for DMITRIEV to meet, NADER stated the person was PRINCE, and that "Steve" was BANNON. BANNON designated PRINCE to meet with DMITRIEV. PRINCE may have been the one that told NADER that BANNON was designating PRINCE to meet with DMITRIEV. PRINCE has a very close relationship to BANNON. MBZ was backing NADER, and PRINCE had the support of BANNON and FLYNN on how to fight terrorists. NADER stated it was not a backchannel between Americans and Russians, just for both to fight common enemies. For the PRINCE and DMITRIEV meeting, both knew beforehand that they were meeting in the Seychelles, and it is possible that BANNON sent PRINCE.

NADER felt it was not his business to introduce DMITRIEV to the incoming administration, or to be a conduit, and he only mentioned DMITRIEV to PRINCE. After the meeting in the Seychelles, NADER asked KUSHNER about PRINCE, and KUSHNER told NADER to have nothing to do with PRINCE. NADER stated that Secretary of Defense James MATTIS later re-affirmed KUSHNER's stance of not working with PRINCE.

In regards to BANNON, PRINCE let NADER to believe that whatever agreement they reached with MBZ and the Russians, PRINCE stated that "Steve is my pocket and [REDACTED]. PRINCE further said "I have Steve totally on board and in my pocket." PRINCE would know how to go about it to get backing from the American side. [REDACTED] NADER was clear that PRINCE told NADER that BANNON had sent PRINCE.

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[REDACTED]  
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of GEORGE NADER, 1/19  
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NADER described the Seychelles meeting between PRINCE and DMITRIEV as such. [REDACTED] and he was encouraged to come into the Seychelles earlier than he planned. PRINCE had come to the Seychelles to meet with MBZ on a project involving Libya and Afghanistan. PRINCE stated that "this administration will owe you forever" and that the UAE would get protection in return. NADER remembers PRINCE going over maps with MBZ and saying the project might cost \$1-2 billion. DMITRIEV's name came out as a very important Russian, and PRINCE was very eager to work with the Russians in an effort to "clean up" Afghanistan. No political discussions were held between DMITRIEV and PRINCE. DMITRIEV was the Russian side who could put PRINCE in contact with the right person in Russia, and that DMITRIEV was the guy to work with on anything to do with Russia.

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b7C

NADER knew DMITRIEV for approximately 5-7 years [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] DMITRIEV is reliable and efficient and [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] NADER emphasized to PRINCE that DMITRIEV is good in business and connected to the government in Russia. DMITRIEV could put PRINCE in touch with the right person or company. After the meeting with PRINCE, DMITRIEV had a meeting with MBZ and they did discuss the RDIF.

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The meeting between DMITRIEV and PRINCE took place in a bar by the sea, [REDACTED] The only ones present during the meeting were PRINCE, DMITRIEV and NADER. The meeting took approximately 25-30 minutes. PRINCE talked about how much the U.S. and Russia had in common, Russia was 20% Muslim, had problems with militant Islam in Chechnya. PRINCE stated that there was a unique opportunity and that the Americans had his back. PRINCE wanted to meet with his counterpart on the Russian side, who was determined be DMITRIEV. DMITRIEV stated that he was glad to meet, there were a lot of misunderstanding between the two countries but they had common goals. There was talk about Libya and Egypt. According to NADER there was no discussion of anything political. DMITRIEV stated he was a great admirer of the new administration, excited to work with them, in terms of the United States and Russia. It was apparent that PRINCE was very proud of being an American, but he did not mention BANNON or KUSHNER, PRINCE was most talking for himself. When the meeting ended, NADER said that before anything was done, they must first see what MBZ's decision would be. It was cordial between PRINCE and DMITRIEV as they left, they said it was nice to meet each other. No business cards were exchanged or any lines of communication established. They would work through the UAE and first wait for MBZ's decision first. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Just the plan that

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Exhibit 24  
Declaration of James A. Bowman  
**Filed Under Seal**

*United States v. Alshahhi, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM

Exhibit 25  
Declaration of James A. Bowman  
**Filed Under Seal**

*United States v. Alshahhi, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-00371-BMC-TAM